

Volume: 4
Number: 5
Page: 1519 - 1528

Article History:

Received: 2023-08-10
Revised: 2023-08-29
Accepted: 2023-09-16

Administration Of Fear Through Symbols About Covid-19 In Indonesian Online News

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Abstract:

The Covid-19 outbreak is a global fear. This fear is partly triggered by diverse media representation. Information containing representations of COVID-19 has the potential to reduce fear. However, in reality, representations through these symbols have the potential to be used by those in power to exercise their power, especially to get rid of their political opponents through representation. The representation of Habib Rizieq Shihab as a violator of health protocols is suspected to be an attempt by the authorities to eliminate his political opponents through fear of the COVID-19 outbreak in symbols spread in the media. This research wants to answer how the administration of fear in symbols regarding violations of the COVID-19 protocol by religious figures in the representation of Habib Rizieq Shihab in Indonesian online news. This research explores the concept and criticizes the concept of administration of fear, which is a construct from dromology-based theories by Paul Virilio. This research uses Barthes' textual semiotics method (Barthes' 5 codes), which analyzes several online news texts in Indonesia. From the results of the analysis, it is revealed that the media representation of Habib Rizieq Shihab is a form of administration of fear carried out by the authorities through symbols about COVID-19 in the media by constructing logistics of perception and environmental construction that represents Habib Rizieq based on fear of the epidemic and fear of Islam (Islamophobia).

Keywords: Dromology, Semiotics, Administration of Fear, Media, Islam.

Cite this as NUGROHO, E., RITONGA, R., JAMALULLAIL, J. (2023). "Administration of Fear through Symbols about Covid-19 in Indonesian Online News." *International Journal of Environmental, Sustainability, and Social Science*, 4 (5), 1519 - 1528.



INTRODUCTION

Media digital media has a vital role as a key player in contemporary political communication (Md Sayeed, 2020). Thus, modern and even postmodern politics make media essential in various roles, whether as a player, space, or channel. Postmodern society makes communication media a prominent feature of their lives (McQuail, 2010). Moreover, according to Perloff, political life in general is closely related to the representation and existence of mass media (Perloff, 2022).

Covid-19 is a major pandemic that has hit the world in the 21st century. The pandemic is a source of individual and collective fear (Bunning, 2012). With that, Covid-19 was able to build global fear. Electronic mass media, including the internet and online media with its right here right now principle, can disseminate various information or things related to the Covid-19 pandemic,

making this a potential channel for disseminating information about the pandemic itself (Dobržinskienė, 2020; Hua & Shaw, 2020). The media is also one of the main factors in disseminating information about Covid-19. Research conducted by Dana and friends (Dana et al., 2021) shows that the media plays a role in spreading information about COVID-19 and its protocols. Through this media, COVID-19 has become a semiotic phenomenon. COVID-19 has become a symbol and signifier in the media and stands for various purposes of representation and construction.

The speed of information is essential to the relationship of power and media. Virilio, in his book *Speed and Politics* (2006), shows the relationship between speed and acceleration and politics - power and authority -, where in chronological logic related in this case, media power, power is determined by how much control over media speed, both the speed of delivery and the representation of speed control in media texts. The media, which is moving fast, determines these power-based representations. Speed and mastery of speed are closely related to a technological accident called fear. Fear becomes a material form of the experience of speed, and fear builds the power structure of speed itself, where speed produces fear (Abdullah, 2023; Karatzogianni & Robinson, 2020). With it, fear can be administered for specific purposes of power. The high speed of information about COVID-19 thus has the potential to build fear and be orchestrated for the administration of certain powers.

The violation of health protocols accused of Habib Rizieq Shihab (HRS) - a religious and political opposition figure to the Jokowi regime - is closely related to the regime's elimination of political opposition. As an opposing figure, HRS is considered an enemy of the Jokowi government regime. FPI (Front Pembela Islam/ Islamic Defenders Front) with Habib Rizieq is present as a political opponent of the Joko Widodo regime (Jati, 2021). It is due to political inequality, especially the ruling regime's in-accommodative attitude towards conservative groups. This attitude was demonstrated - during COVID-19 - by the disbandment of FPI and several pressures on ulama groups. FPI, as a political opponent of the Joko Widodo regime, grew stronger after the 212 actions and peaked throughout 2014.

Moreover, FPI's actions were more of a political movement than just a moral movement with actions to clean up immorality in society (Waty & Kamarudin, 2021). As a fast information channel, media should be a tool for the public interest. However, in this case, the media tends to be a tool to become part of the administration of fear where fear is built and authorized through it for the political interests of the ruling regime, to build certain representations for political opponents through fear in order to get rid of political opposition through a certain number of representations through the media, which flooded with symbols at high speed about covid-19.

This article wants to reveal how the administration of fear occurs in COVID-19 symbols related to the issue of violations of the COVID-19 protocol by religious figures in the representation of Habib Rizieq Shihab on online news in Indonesia.

Chronological theory is the theoretical basis for this research. This theory explains the power relationship between speed as a cult (ideology) and power (Hauer, 2017; Virilio, 2006). In this theory, the administration of fear is typical in the theory developed by Virilio. Administration of fear is related to how fear is built by the contraction of space and time, which means that speed produces fear in a particular environment. The authorities then use this fear to build an emotional synchronization with specific propaganda as a practice of power through two main dimensions, namely orchestration, and environment (Jellis, 2013; Karatzogianni & Robinson, 2020; Virilio, 2012).

Logistics of Perception, Virilio explains this concept as an image (sign), representing a tool equivalent to military logistics in war. There is a substitution of war logistics with representation as logistics (Armitage, 2014; Virilio, 1989). It is also based on Virilio's assumption that modernity is logistical, where every dimension of modernity, including image, represents political space. It must

have logistical dominance, which means it can be transformed into war logistics. (Dua, 2017). Representation in images is a strategy in war (Virilio, 1989). In Virilio's view, the logistics of perception is a war of images and sounds (images) that replace war using weapons (Virilio, 1989). Through this, various realities are hidden in signs so that the use of signs as a support for war propaganda becomes significant.

This research contributes to deontological theory, where the administration of fear as one of the concepts in Virilio's dromological perspective has a semiotic dimension that structures the orchestration and environment of fear, not just a mere phenomenological aspect. Thus, this research provides a semiotic perspective on the administration of fear. Thus, dromological theory has semiotic aspects in its explication of the phenomenon of power. In other words, the relationship between speed and power is also preceded by a specific structure of signification, which is a substitute for the reality of speed itself (dromosemiotics).

METHODS

This research uses a semiotic analysis method that relies on a critical paradigm (Lincoln et al., 2018). Data collection and analysis were carried out by applying Barthes' semiotic method in the form of applying Barthes' 5 (five) codes. The code is hermeneutic, probiotic, semantic, symbolic, and cultural (Barthes, 2002). Analysis was carried out on several online news texts with the theme of violations of the COVID-19 health protocol by Habib Rizieq Shihab. The text is taken from news reports from November 2020 to December 2021. The text is taken from several online media such as okezone.com, tribunnews.com, Kompas.com, dan detik.com.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Orchestration of Fear in Text. There is a configuration of minor themes that apply in multiplicity, which means that one sign can have more than one code, and of course, each minor theme will emerge from the overlap of each code and relationship. These themes concern several things, including, first, Islam and Arabic, several cultural semantic and symbolic codes showing a meaning related to Islam, for example, Habib Rizieq. In terms of the name, "Muhammad Rizieq Shihab or Rizieq or Shihab" at least implies some code. In terms of cultural code, this is related to the cultural habits of Arabic names so that culturally, this name is a name that has an Islamic meaning. Islam, in general, is related to Arabia or Arab-ness. Hitti explained in his book History of the Arabs (Hitti, 2008). Islam became a civilization that was attached to the growth of Arab civilization. The existence of Islam is a milestone in Arab civilization, which shows the strong relationship between Arabism and Islam. Islam became an ethnogenesis for "Arabism," where early Muslims imagined themselves within the framework of their Arabness (Webb, 2016). With this, Islamic and Arab identities can exist in symbolic possibilities that are identical and different in some ways. The predicate "Habaib" itself is a cultural predicate to refer to the name or title for glorifying the lineage of Rasulullah Muhammad Saw, namely the lineage that comes from the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (Al Mahsyur, 2013; Saepudin, 2018). Habaib is a group of people who are dzurriyyah Ar Rasul. Habib comes from the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad Saw from his daughter Sayyidah Fatimah Ra. In the Alawiyyin context, the Habaib symbol is interchangeable with the predicate Sayyid or Sharif, which all refer to the descendants of Rasulullah from the children of Sayyidina Ali and Sayyidina Fatimah -- Hasan or Husein (Alkatiri & Hayaze, 2022). Concerning Islam and Arabia, the figure of HRS and several attributes found in symbols in the media show the relationship between Arabs and Islam. Second, violence and terrorism, symbols and images like this that link Islam with terrorism and violence are more widespread after 9/11. Mass media trends after 9/11 led to themes of Islam or Muslims and terrorism, where Muslims are depicted together with

terrorist images (Holloway, 2008). In the news texts analyzed, symbols related to terrorism and violence appear, for example, in the FPI symbol. Narratives about FPI in recent years in the media tend to show this group as a group with violent connotations. The news about violations of the HRS health protocol contains symbols concerning violence, such as possessing sharp weapons and symbols of mass action, which point to relations between Islam and terrorism as well as violence. The symbols in this connection relate to the meaning of subversiveness, chaos, and lies. Troubles are "evil" and are actions against the government, in this case, the government itself as ruler. It means that this label is given to group power or political and group actions contrary to the existence of government or rulers. Third, Covid-19 and fear. In the text, COVID-19 has become a significant symbol that recurs as a central theme. COVID-19 is related to various symbols, and several other symbols such as the symbols "increasing," "spreading," and "viral" are dromological symbols that reduce space and time, as if the disease was moving quickly to eat up every joint of life's space and moves very fast at least in its connotation which then brings about a particular symbol of the orchestration of dromological fear. Fourth, militarism, the world or global community's experience of militarism is related to war and militarism; the words "personnel" and several signs related to violence fill the news text. That power or ruler is symbolized as military strength. Fifth, rulers and Law, from the constellation of significance of these texts, it can be seen that rulers are described as saviors, which means they are similar to doctors or saviors of people from the plague. It can be seen in the symbols regarding the Covid task force and others. Apart from that, the ruler is symbolized as Law - this relates to the depiction of government officials such as police, judges, and others, all constellations related to "control" and "solution."

Logistics of Perception: Orchestration in Construction. From the Barthesian code analysis results above, some themes are "common" in ideas or texts related to discussions about Islam, media, and politics. Of course, talking about Habib Rizieq will open up themes about broader relations, especially relations regarding Islam and power.

Within the framework of dromological theory and the concept of administration of fear, we want to reveal the layers of fear that are orchestrated through the themes contained in the signifiers or texts above, where this produces a specific construction relationship.

These relations are a substitute reality for changing models in the historical regime of modernity and war. In the logistics logic of war, these construction relations will become a "logistics of perception," so this form of orchestration is dismantled by explaining the logistics of perception in these relations. Why those relationships? Because it is specific to the characteristics of modernity which according to Deleuze and Guattari must be understood as a rhizome (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983), where a social event or social entity is composed of a certain multiplicity that diverse ways of encoding connect the semiotic chain (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983, pp. 11-13) so this orchestration of fear must be described in the context of rhizome and multiplicity. In this case, the orchestration formed by the logistics of perception is seen as a construction relationship that builds a certain multiplicity.

Several relationships formed in the text become logistics of perception in the orchestration of fear in news texts related to Habib Rizieq Shihab's violation of health protocols, the first the construction of the relationship between Islam, violence, and terrorism. Portrayals of Islam in media texts emphasize aspects that connect the Islamic community and religion with various aspects of symbols of violence. In the context of the text, it can be seen that symbols such as "terrorist" themes and crime and violence are present together with Islamic symbols. For example, the words trouble are side by side with or connected to the existence of Habib Rizieq, or themes about terrorist suspects are also found linked to Habib Rizieq and FPI. On the one hand, FPI and Habib Rizieq symbolically and semantically point to the existence of Islam. At the same time, codes that are violent or mean

violence are present syntagmatically and build ideas about the relationship between Islam and violence and terrorism. For example, on detik.com, The use of terrorist signs was found concerning a series of Islamic signs or symbols in the news theme about violations of this health protocol. Apart from that, other contexts in other news use the sign "trouble" as a symbol related to violence in the text or series of texts for violations of health protocols by HRS.

This relationship is not without intertextuality. In international studies, Islamic stereotypes develop specifically related to violence and terrorism. For example, research conducted (Ahmed & Matthes, 2017), based on a metastudy, shows that Islam is described as a violent religion. In contrast, previous studies show specific themes related to war, migration, and terrorism. Kuru (Kuru, 2019) explains that there is an imbalance in the image and depiction of Islam. Since 2001, Islam or Muslims have been depicted as perpetrators of crime, war, and terrorism, and several scientific data from media studies show that there is disproportionality in reporting on depictions of Muslims in representations of violence so that this is a reality relationship that has become a language habit that links Islam and terrorism. Second, Habib Rizieq Shihab is a criminal. HRS, in this discourse narrative, is central to its semiotic constellation. Symbolically, it symbolizes Islam and its community and specifically even the genealogy of Islam itself, namely about the narrative of "descendants of the Prophet" from which HRS as a symbol is a code that shows relationships in other spaces in the dimensions of the Islamic community in general and Islam, specifically in Indonesian culture. In the cultural code, HRS is also a cultural artifact, which means that the cultural meaning and cultural narrative it carries refer to a form of communal concept about people who are given cultural privileges as descendants of the Prophet, which, in Islamic culture, they become symbols that are equivalent to symbols of ulama and are not a little, culturally the Habibs and especially HRS are part of the role of ulama. So culturally, he is present as a cultural element in Islamic society. So, this can be concluded as a cultural sy, symbolic, or even genealogical link with Islam itself.

Then, the HRS symbol here is in a relational configuration with several other symbols that are classified as violence, for example, symbols for the word "trouble," mass action, crowds, and also symbols in the criminal class, such as those associated with prison, prison, or criminal Law. These two groups of symbols are related to the relations that connect Habib Rizieq in the subject position of crime, where he is characterized or labeled as an antagonistic figure instead of the health protocol regime as a symbol of power protocol.

The dimensions of Habib Rizieq's actions during the administration of the Joko Widodo regime had a relationship that was more political than perhaps criminal. However, the criminal symbols attached to him are an image package to position him as a criminal. However, in its meaning, this is not a criminal or criminal predicate per se, but a logistics of perception to describe or represent terms or "languages" and metaphors about anti-power people or groups.

Third, relations related to the authorities are a solution. Symbols or texts related to health protocols or COVID-19 symbols directly involve the authorities, the health regulator. The text shows a relationship between the COVID task force and various government elements that drive protocols and legislative instruments related to COVID-19, and the authorities are related to the solution. The government formulated various methods, such as isolation and health protocols, as the ruler of efforts to eradicate "COVID-19". The legitimacy of the ruler as an authority organizer or solution for COVID-19 is also supported by global legitimacy, which is intertextual. The relationship between the ruler and global organizations such as WHO provides a legitimate pre-condition for the action of the ruler to implement laws relating to COVID-19. The association of health protocols with the symbol "jail" or "criminal" is an authority or heavy legal action with power relations. "Prokes (health protocol)" is a global issue related to Covid-19 or Covid-19 itself, as in the text, is a global apocalyptic symbol. In contrast, "criminals," "imprisonment," or military personnel, for example, are domains or

spaces of power relations in the text. The authority for handling COVID-19 is the government, so the authorities are trying to build an orchestration that the "rulers" are the absolute solution to COVID-19; whoever violates it means fighting against the authorities.

Symbols related to COVID-19, such as "test swabs" and "reactive," are discourses that build certain subjects. We know that the binary opposition formed in the context of COVID-19 is a discussion of texts that ultimately results in a binary opposition related to being infected or not, positive or negative, and so on. As in the discourse of power that has prevailed in this country (Indonesia), there is a binary opposition such as PKI or not, anti-revolutionary or pro-revolutionary, terrorist and peace, or even the labels of radical and moderate Islam. Everything is a discourse that produces ideological objects which are controlled by power. The scientific definition of a Covid sufferer was initially the most definitive. However, this was later reduced by Covid text discourse such as swab tests and "according to government protocols." For example, whether you are a Covid sufferer or not, this becomes legitimization or perhaps a form of binary oppositional discourse to label who is a sufferer and who is not.

Moreover, those who try to be aware of this test will say that the Covid test is a lie, for example, and of course, this group of people will be labeled "Covid violators" or fatalists. It happened to an activist named Ali Rido Assegaf or Babe Aldo, as reported by the news in ekonomi.co.id. He said there were facts that what was happening --- covid-19 omicron - was not the spread of the omicron variant of covid, but this was a disease caused by air pollution ("sebut-omicron-hanya-polusi-udara-babe-aldo-disentil-ruhut-kadrun-lagi-beraksi," 2022). Babe Aldo's opinion was immediately labeled had run in action by politicians supporting the government at that time, "The label had run on people who criticize the government's authoritative information regarding COVID-19 is an attempt to build a symbolic discourse that critics of health authorities are the same as anti-regime critics. It shows the existence of a discourse on the formation of a binary opposition by labeling pros and cons with labels supporting or opposing the government so that it appears that the relationship of power or rulers as absolute discursive authorities on COVID-19 is orchestrated through public discussions or media representations.

Thus, the power relations or discourse created by the ruler form or identifies the rulers as absolute authorities. With great strength, it is depicted in the posture of military symbols, such as the number of personnel, and "bui" as a symbol of enforcing power or the disciplinary power of the ruler. With this, people are faced with the significance that the government symbol symbolizes militaristic protection, namely national power or authoritative power, which seems to be with the "state" or as if maintaining "security" can prevent people from death from COVID-19. It is also a symbolic statement that the state is something to be feared or power is something to be feared because of its military posture in symbols such as "police," large numbers of personnel, and laws and prisons as punishment and control.

Fourth, (apocalyptic) fast-moving death, COVID-19 since its emergence, is a form of plague that moves quickly and is apocalyptic or related to an inevitable and terrible apocalypse. The symbols in the analyzed news text imply that this is a widespread situation in the context of time and regional exposure.

Covid has, in many ways, presented a variety of specific symbolic environmental circumstances. The symbols that form it include the horror of death, helpless individuals trapped helplessly, widespread transmission, "viral" information and fear, and increased victims. These symbols are spread in the mass media and other communication media. In advertising news and even social media conversations, this is an environment that protocol owners continuously remind. Protocol owners, in this case, regional authorities, often use this as a language of power and administration so that individuals build symbols specific to their situation in a fast-moving time

space and convey fear through the rapid spread of COVID symbols. Zizek describes Covid-19 as stagnation and prison and apocalyptic for world civilization as if it were an apocalyptic illusion. He revealed that the COVID-19 pandemic had stopped the world and confined us to our homes (Zizek, 2020). Zizek reflects what is also depicted or symbolized by texts related to Covid-19. Health protocols, the determination to test after test (test swab), or the horror of not crowding because of the "spread of COVID-19" and the terror of "increasing COVID-19" are all prisons and the tragic meaning of COVID-19 itself. The symbols of COVID-19 seem to be directly related to the world stopping, let us call it death, which seems to be worried about by every citizen.

People are forced to separate from their colleagues so that the symbol of the "crowd" is a forbidden tragic relationship - an expression of "apocalyptic for all who are then defined as prokes violators or fatalists."

Virus relates to the technological term "viral" in the text. The distribution function is nearly identical but differs in a symbolic context. A virus is an entity that causes death. At the same time, viral is a spreader of the sensation of death through symbols that are faced with the reality of the wheel of the world stopping and the fact that humans must surrender to the control and supervision imposed by the threat of death, namely in the form of laws or even political and legislative transformation of covid-19.

COVID-19 in the text is also connected with symbols of violence and terrorism, as well as typical pandemic dimensions such as an increase in the number of sufferers or symbols related to the level of spread so that it is depicted that the fear or horror that COVID-19 is spreading so quickly. It is also connected or inferred with symbols such as violence and terrorism, which have become classic horror or classic mythical terms in modern society.

The Environment of Fear in the Textual Dimension. The Barthes codes above are related to environmental forms that create specific meaning concerning the significance of Habib Rizieq's relationship as a political opponent of the government and the environmental conditions of a fast-moving epidemic. The presentation of historical data in the field of significance regarding HRS's relationship with COVID-19 shows that there are layers of reality of significance that are formed in 2 (two) environments of fear. The environment of fear is related to the dromological environment regarding the rapid outbreak of Covid-19 and various pathological fears combined with the environment regarding Islamophobia so that it can be seen that the representation of HRS as a violator of health protocols is not a representation of himself as an ordinary criminal, but a representation that tries to eliminate the existence of HRS in the context of a critical person. Opposition or political opponents where the representation of HRS becomes a representation that drowns HRS in a pile of realities and the rapid movement of reality in an environment filled with fear of the COVID-19 outbreak and Islamophobia.

Administration of Fear Through Picnolepsy. The representation that is constructed and expressed through Barthes' codes in the signs in the news text shows that there is a patch or construction that puts Habib Rizieq Shihab's position in a representation that does not depict him as a subversive political opponent but as a criminal who violates health protocols. It causes its representation to fall into the category of health violators, which places HRS's relationship with COVID-19 as part of thousands of categories of symbols and information about COVID-19 - not in the context of the dialectic of political power ---. Therefore, this eliminates the reality of HRS behind the pile of signs about COVID-19 and Islamophobia, which are moving quickly and spreading fear very massively. It is a picnolepsy event, according to Virilio (Phillips, 2019; Virilio, 1991). The image of HRS and HRS itself is submerged and disappears from the relational category of political signs or realities in public, shifting to the category of mere health issue discourse--- where information is flooding in and moving fast this is through the speed of news about Covid-19 in a typical

environment. The image or representation of HRS as a COVID violator places itself in a category of events or discussions about COVID-19. Of course, this is different from his background as an opposition figure whose reality is the opposite of the existence of the Jokowi government as ruler. With that, HRS was eliminated; in other words, there was an elimination of political alternatives or political opposition from the authorities, not by constructing HRS into a specific figure but by placing him in a large category of information flow about COVID-19 so that HRS was seen as nothing more than a violator of Covid-19 -- health issues--- rather than his representation as an oppositionist-- political issues. Apart from that, in the context of information and the reality of Islamophobia, pianoless occurs by attaching it to the category of the relationship between Islam and violence, terrorism, cruelty, and mass action, which is a category of significance in the flood of - (sign) - the reality of Islamophobia. Moreover, this combination builds pianoless, eliminating Habib Rizieq's representational reality based on widespread and fast information in constructing signs that appear not to move but have a ratio or ideology of speed (inertia). In other words, this is Dromosemiotics' strategy in building the administration of fear.

CONCLUSION

Habib Rizieq Shihab's representation in the news text about his violation of health protocols in symbols and relationships is an administration of fear where the orchestration of signs sees specific relationships that build relationships between HRS and symbols related to COVID-19 and other symbols of Islamophobia. Meanwhile, from an environmental perspective, the significance surrounding the sign is that there is an environment of dromological fear related to COVID-19, where information moves quickly to spread fear in the environment as well as fear that has long been spread and circulated in information about Islamophobia - which has been an environment before. Thus, the image or reality of HRS is drowned in this environment, and the rapid spread of signs that lead to the meaning of significance in the meaning of HRS is just an ordinary health violation. He is not a critic or political opponent, so political actions can be considered null and void through pianoless. The administration of fear through this symbol implies that the concepts related to Virilio's dromological perspective also require a semiotic explanation rather than merely phenomenological, which means that this is a Dromosemiotics.

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